



Social Progress

Of Men and Nations

OCTOBER 1954

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FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

Calling All Citizens

THE Congressional elections this fall, with all of the House seats and more than one third of the Senate seats at stake, are a call for Christians to turn principles into votes, to translate Christian idealism into political realism.

In mid-term elections, basic questions are less likely to receive attention than in election years when the presidency is at stake. We trust that political campaigning this fall will not be so partisan and provincial as to sidetrack the discussion of important national and international issues.

Deepest in the concern of Christians are the issues of *security* and *peace*. The cold war, possible prelude to the unspeakable tragedy of atomic attack and retaliation, is the awful reality of our time. Nothing is more important than continued and even more determined efforts to resolve East-West tensions in reasonable and honorable ways. We need leaders who truly believe that patient, persistent negotiation will ultimately result in a just and durable peace. The Government needs to be purged of men who proclaim that war is inevitable, the sooner the better for our side.

We need leaders, too, who see the importance of programs and policies, beyond the needs of security, for increasing *international co-operation and friendship*, and for serving *human welfare* and extending *human rights* everywhere. Here our main medium and reliance should always be the United Nations and its several agencies.

On the domestic front an issue of fundamental importance in the judgment of many responsible churchmen is *McCarthyism*. Our country needs a much more effective and reliable defense against subversion than anything the junior Senator from Wisconsin represents. It is now more than a matter of opinion to say that Mr. McCarthy has done great damage to America's reputation abroad, has wrought havoc among Government employees, has brought the United States Senate into disrepute, and has made only a negligible contribution in the extremely important business of counteracting

subversion in high places. We all shall be watching with serious interest the development of the move in the Senate to censure Mr. McCarthy. We must insist that every candidate for national office be required to stand up and be counted in regard to McCarthyism.

There are other issues about which Christian citizens are bound to be deeply concerned—*public housing and urban redevelopment, agricultural problems*, including migrant workers and noncommercial farmers, the *development of atomic energy*, the huge subject of *conservation* including flood control and valley development, the needs of *public education, military and security matters* including universal training. Intelligent voters will want to know what the candidates think about these subjects.

For citizenship education in local churches we particularly recommend two new pieces of literature. One is *Roll Call on the 83d Congress*, which consists of the individual voting records of members of the Senate and of the House on selected key issues. The other piece is a pamphlet entitled *General Assembly Pronouncements—1954*. The pronouncements represent the thinking of our Church concerning many vital national and international problems. Both of these aids may be secured from your nearest PDS center or from the Department of Social Education and Action in Philadelphia. (The *Pronouncements* are free; the *Roll Call* is priced at 10 cents a copy.)

World Order Day – 1954

SUNDAY, October 24, will be observed as World Order Day in more churches than ever before across our land. The day has special significance this year because it falls on the birthday of the United Nations. It will be observed not only in the United States but in many other nations around the world as United Nations Day.

The General Board of the National Council of Churches has issued a call to ministers and laymen “to observe World Order Day with prayers of thanksgiving for the United Nations and of penitence for our failure to dedicate ourselves fully to the task of working for peace, justice, and freedom in the world of nations.” The National Council urges our churches to study the United Nations as an instrument of co-operation and peaceful change, and calls upon our people “to support United States participation in the United Nations and in other efforts through which we discharge our responsibility to the world community.”

Many ministers will want to include in their plans for the day a sermon

on international responsibility. Such Scripture passages as I Cor. 12: 12-27; Matt. 25: 34-46; and Rom. 5: 1-5 may be used with appropriate applications to the present international situation.

The fall elections and the continuing vicious attacks upon the United Nations make the observance of World Order Sunday in all our churches more important than ever before.

Using the Pronouncements

ORDER your 1954 General Assembly pronouncements now. They are available for limited free distribution among local churches, officers, and leaders. We trust that no minister will order more copies than he can wisely use.

Here are some suggestions for putting the pronouncements to work:

1. The minister may bring them to the attention of the members of the session. A special meeting of the session may be devoted to the study of the pronouncements.

2. Copies of the pronouncements may be distributed among selected church leaders and members, with appropriate sections marked for special attention.

3. The pronouncements may be interpreted in midweek meetings, church forums, evening services, and meetings of women's and men's organizations.

4. The pronouncements may be studied by older youth groups, young adult groups, adult Bible classes, women's circles, and special groups organized for that purpose.

5. The social education and action committee of the local church may make a digest of the pronouncements for circulation among church members.

6. Selections from the pronouncements may be printed in the church bulletin.

Presbyterian Women and the United Nations

THE great quadrennial national meeting of Presbyterian women in Purdue last June made very clear and emphatic their support of the United Nations as an agency of peace and co-operation among the nations of the world. Their position will come as a keen disappointment to the zealous adherents of such assertive anti-UN groups as the Minute Women, the Liberty Belles, and Pro-America. One of the objectives adopted at Purdue

which will guide the women's program of our churches for the next four years includes the following statement: "Through Him (who is Peace) we will . . . support all efforts which make for world peace, including the program and agencies of the United Nations."

The women did more than talk about their belief in and support of the United Nations. As sign and proof of their concern they presented to the United Nations a check in the amount of \$4,000, which will be used for an appropriate furnishing in the UN headquarters in New York. The money represents special voluntary offerings made by women attending presbyterial meetings across the country during the spring.

Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the UN, was invited to attend the Purdue meeting and to receive the gift. He was unable to accept the invitation because of appointments out of the country. He sent as his special representative Dr. Frank Graham, who is a highly rated member of the UN Secretariat. At present he is serving as special representative for the UN to India and Pakistan in connection with disputes over Kashmir and other problems. Dr. Graham is former president of the University of North Carolina and a former United States Senator from North Carolina. He made a great hit at Purdue when he announced to the women in the closing session when the gift was presented that he is also a Presbyterian elder. He brought greetings from the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church which he had attended in a special capacity.

The women's contribution will be used for the purchase of a rug for one of the large halls in the delegates' section of the UN building. The rug will be approximately twenty-five feet wide and ninety feet long. It will be handwoven in an original design in Ecuador. There will be appropriate ceremonies at the time of the laying of the rug in the winter.

The United Nations is attaching great significance to the gift as a symbol of support on the part of a very important segment of the American population. This is the first time that a private group has been permitted to make a donation of this kind to the UN. All other furnishings in the UN building in New York have been made by member Governments of the organization.

—Clifford Earle
Margaret Kuhn
H. B. Sissel

Corridor of Perils

By PAUL S. HEATH, *General Presbyter, Presbytery of Buffalo-Niagara, N. Y.; former member of Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action*

AS I write this little article in time to make the October issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, I am appalled at the peril in which we stand at this moment. All about us are voices of fright and confusion. The Republican leader in the Senate calls upon us to join him in renouncing the United Nations if Red China is admitted as a member nation. A great general who served his country well in Europe and in Korea has told a Senate committee, with widespread publicity, that he cannot see any good in the United Nations, that we ought to sever relations with Russia and its satellites, that the United Nations should be turned into an anti-Russian union. A former ambassador pleads for overt action against Red China. Influential organizations backed by large amounts of money are speaking by way of pamphlets and the radio, seeking to whip up our hysteria against the United Nations and against our enemies.

At the same time (in fact in tonight's paper there is a picture), we are told of a new guided missile with which the Russians can attack London from Moscow. It is only a

question of months, at most a few years, when both Russia and the United States can reach each other with guided missiles with atomic war heads. A push-button war is an early possibility.

Recently we have been visited by the prime minister of Great Britain, Sir Winston Churchill, who has addressed words of greatest caution to us. These words have come to us from one who, from the beginning, has tried to "throttle Bolshevism in its cradle," as he has put it, and who again and again has warned us about Russia. Now Sir Winston Churchill has tried to make clear to us how we, here in America, are losing the confidence of free nations and of the Asiatic world because they are finding it hard to believe that we can be trusted with the power that we possess.

Reinhold Niebuhr has recently expressed this danger in these words: "It is unfortunately true that we control rather more power in the world community than is good for either us or the world. It is difficult to convince us of this because we taste the heady wine of great power for the first time. We have just learned

that power is attended by responsibilities. We have not had the time to learn the second lesson, that no power, however great, is powerful enough to compel destiny. It is our destiny to live together with an obnoxious system, which we cannot defeat and which cannot defeat us, if we are tolerably wise, but either of us can bring the world to ruin should we make the attempt."

These thoughts lead me to say again with the utmost gravity what our Department of Social Education and Action has said many times: In this time of peril, the Church, our Church, has a tremendous responsibility. The Church dare not shrug off this responsibility or ignore it, or simply leave it to others because it finds it difficult. The Church must find an important place in its life of prayer, in its life of meditation, in its life of education, in its life of action, for this responsibility. The Church must seek to confront this peril with the insight of a new dimension of meaning that comes from a voice that is not the sound of our own voice, but which comes from God and eternity.

What Can We Do?

Well, let us begin very simply and very practically. We have available this fall splendid aids for the study and guidance of our Church. First, we have the social pronouncements of the 166th General Assembly.* These pronouncements contain six

pages under the general heading of "International Affairs" which headline the urgent problems of the moment. Then we have *A Letter to Presbyterians*,* which was published and distributed a year ago by the General Council of our Church. This letter is full of the most vital spiritual guidance for our Church in the present hour and can be used most effectively with the study guide *Our Freedoms Under God*, published in May, 1954, SOCIAL PROGRESS.* Again, we have the report of the Fourth National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order held at Cleveland last October. The title of this report is *Christian Faith and International Responsibility*.* The study of these documents alone by our Church, followed by the important prayers of our people and the united action of our Churches, could give new understanding and strength and courage to the leaders of our nation in this time of peril.

One of the most important duties of the minister and the session this fall is to work out with the social education and action committee of the church (and where there is no such committee a special committee should be organized immediately) a program that will bring before the people of the church in a thoughtful and prayerful way the issues that confront our country and the world and to help them to understand these issues in the light of God's will and God's purpose for us.

Here Are the Questions

What is the responsibility of the pulpit in this area? What sermons might be preached relating to this responsibility of the church? What church nights should be planned for? What additional means of education in the way of panels, forums, discussion groups, and lectures can be planned which will bring to our people not just another word from the market place or the lecture hall, but which will be seeking the answer to the question, What does God's Word teach us for such an hour as this?

What About the UN?

From many quarters, the United Nations is being subjected to vicious and irresponsible attacks by pseudo-patriotic organizations backed by large sums of money. We owe it to our people to present to them a true picture of the United Nations and also to give them something of the background and vicious purposes that seem to lie behind the enmity in our country against the United Nations. How can we interpret to our people what has been accomplished? How can we stand behind the United Nations? How can we strengthen the organization and improve it? After all, the Protestant Church had a large part in laying the groundwork for the United Nations and in securing the acceptance of the American people of it. There is a

wealth of material available for this purpose, both in the form of literature and visual-aid materials. A fine little pamphlet written by Justin Wroe Nixon for the Church Peace Union would prove very helpful to us in this study. It is called *The United Nations and Our Religious Heritage*.*

The Arms Race?

What about the new terrific weapons that have come into man's possession? Is there anything we can do to mitigate the appalling arms race that is on at the present time? What are the possibilities, the avenues, which might lead to disarmament? Is there anything that we can do to turn the magnificent discovery of atomic power to the health and well-being of mankind instead of to its destruction?

Economic Co-operation?

What about our relations with the rest of the world in economic co-operation and in trade? What kind of policies should we advocate that would convince the rest of the world that we are eager for the common well-being of the countries of the world? What can be done, apart from military preparation and defense, to persuade the rest of the world of the genuineness of our belief in the dignity of man and his right to freedom? What kind of aid can we offer? What kind of technical assistance can we make available?

What kind of policies should we support?

Nationalism and Refugees?

Again we must ask ourselves what should be our attitude toward peoples who have been under foreign domination and who are now struggling toward self-determination and are breathing the new air of independence? What should be our attitude toward the multitude of refugees in the world today and toward peoples of other colors and races who would turn their faces toward our shores? It is our responsibility as Christians to do something constructive for these people?

Freedom and Segregation?

What should be our beliefs and purposes in regard to human liberties and freedom here at home? All over the world our friends are puzzled, to say the least, and many are disgusted and disillusioned, by the methods, the mentality, the motives, that have dominated much of the Congressional investigation of these years. How are we to seek to implement in both North and South the spirit, as well as the letter, of the Supreme Court action in regard to segregation? We, of the Christian Church, might well bear in mind the remark of the wife of the president of one of our great Negro universities, "The most segregated hour left in American life is 11:00 o'clock Sunday morning."

The Gospel at Work

These questions that I have been suggesting and the answers that we are to seek are not apart from the gospel. They are an essential part of the gospel, for no one has the right to petition for the salvation that God has bestowed upon us in Jesus Christ unless he is also ready to open his daily life and the life of his nation to the sovereignty of this same Lord. And the sovereignty of the Lord Jesus Christ demands obedience to everything God wishes to see happen in this sinful world. These are days of judgment for the Church of Christ, as well as days of hope and redemption. God grant that we shall be found faithful and capable of finding our way through the narrow corridor of perils.

***Source Material**

General Assembly Pronouncements —1954

Order from Presbyterian Distribution Service. Free.

A Letter to Presbyterians

Office of the General Assembly. 3 cents each; \$2.50 per hundred.

Social Progress, May, 1954—*Our Freedoms Under God*.

Department of SEA. 15 cents each.

Christian Faith and International Responsibility. National Council of Churches, Dept. of P & D, 120 E. 23d Street, New York 10.

The United Nations and Our Religious Heritage. Church Peace Union, 170 E. 64th Street, New York 21.

What About Changing the Charter?

By **CLIFFORD EARLE**, *Secretary, Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education*

THE review and possible revision of the United Nations Charter will be the subject of study and discussion for the next year and more by all persons and groups interested in international affairs.

The Charter of the United Nations was adopted at San Francisco on June 26, 1945, and became operative on October 24 of the same year, when the UN was actually born. Article 109 of the Charter provides that a general conference of the members of the UN for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter may be held at a time and place fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council. The article also provides that if such a conference has not been held before the 10th Annual Session of the General Assembly, the proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of that session of the General Assembly and the conference shall be held if so decided by a majority vote of the members of the General Assembly and by the vote of any seven members of the Security Council.

The 10th session of the United Nations General Assembly will convene in September, 1955. On the agenda will appear automatically the question, Shall a conference be held for reviewing the Charter? The review conference itself, if held, will decide whether or not the UN Charter is to be revised.

Presbyterian Position

The 166th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., which met in Detroit last May, took the following action:

"We call attention to the possibility of a review conference on the United Nations Charter. If the General Assembly of the UN votes in 1955 for a review conference, church groups and individual Christians are urged to give careful consideration to any proposed changes in the Charter. Recognizing that the present international political climate is not congenial to a fruitful review conference, we prayerfully hope that the atmosphere will clear in such a way as to make possible a constructive and positive Charter review if such be called."

The Presbyterian General Assembly went on to say: "It is important that no step be taken that would weaken the United Nations as an instrument for peace. Meanwhile consideration and study should be given to the useful development of the Charter through methods now being used, namely, interpretation and supplementary agreements."

Futile Proposals

Many people are urging that a review conference on the Charter be held in the hope and confidence that some drastic changes can be made in the direction of a greatly strengthened world organization. Many proposals are offered for possible Charter revision. Some of these comprehend a detailed plan for general disarmament, a provision for a United Nations military establishment to be used for the enforcement of peace under police authority, a grant to the United Nations of a clear and direct power of taxation, an enhancement in the prestige and power of the UN International Court of Justice, and the establishment of certain privileges and immunities for UN representatives and personnel.

Many urge that the veto power now exercised by the permanent members of the Security Council be eliminated. Others suggest that immediate provision should be made for universal membership to include all of the world's eighty national Governments.

The impossibility of achieving changes of this order in the present world situation is immediately apparent. As to the veto, it should be recalled that this device is operative only in the Security Council and only in reference to certain kinds of questions. The United States Government itself, we believe, would insist on the retention of some kind of veto right in the Security Council. Russia's use of the veto has done more perhaps than any other act on its part to reveal and publicize its intransigency and insincerity.

Many other proposals for Charter revisions fondly hoped for by advocates of review would seem to be equally unrealistic. It would be futile, to say the least, to call a review conference for the purpose of achieving any radical upward changes in the United Nations Charter in view of the fact that amendments would be effective only when ratified by two thirds of the members of the UN, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

United States' Views

The United States Government is taking the position that a review conference should be called and is making several suggestions for possible changes in the UN Charter. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles presented his proposals to a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last January. The

U.S. recommendations include the following:

1. Certain revisions in articles referring to UN membership are suggested, such as possible revision of the voting procedure for the entry of new members into the UN as a step toward universality.

2. Possible changes are suggested in the portion of the Charter dealing with the Security Council in order to enable it better to discharge its responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. The question is raised as to whether greater responsibility should be given to the General Assembly of the UN where there is no veto.

3. The question is raised as to whether the veto power should be taken away from the Security Council in respect to questions involving the specific settlement of disputes and in respect to the admission of new members as recommended by the so-called Vandenberg Resolution of the 80th Congress.

4. The question is raised also as to the need for revision of voting procedure in the General Assembly where it is now possible for some nations which are themselves unable to assume major military or financial responsibilities to put these responsibilities on other nations. Would not some form of weighted voting be preferred in connection with certain questions?

5. Since the United Nations Charter was framed in the pre-atomic era,

"perhaps consideration should now be given to the creation of a special organ of the UN comparable to the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council to deal permanently with the problem of armament which carries so hideous a threat to the hopes of the peoples expressed in the preamble to the Charter."

6. The suggestion is made that Charter provisions relating to international law need some kind of strengthening. Article 13, for example, calls upon the General Assembly to initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of encouraging the development of international law and its implementation. The failure of achievement in this matter has been a great handicap to world order.

View of UN Expert

One of the most informed men in the United States on the United Nations is Dr. Ernest A. Gross, former Assistant Secretary of State and former U. S. Deputy Representative at the UN. He elaborated his views on UN Charter revision in an important article in *Foreign Affairs* last winter. He believes that the world situation is such that a conclave to consider Charter revision would be either a "punctuation" conference, a "showdown" conference, or a "propaganda" conference.

The first of these would be a conference solely for the purpose of

making technical improvements in the language of the Charter, removing ambiguities and the like. It should be remembered that such technical revisions as may appear valuable to experts can be proposed in the General Assembly of the UN at any time.

The second, a conference in which the Western powers would propose certain changes which must be accepted "or else," would probably result in the withdrawal of the Eastern block from the UN, and the formation of a competing "United Nations" oriented to Communist ideology.

In the third type of conference, our side would seek certain Charter changes without necessarily expecting to get them. The ensuing hassle would serve only to dramatize the deadlock between the East and the West.

Dr. Gross goes on to differentiate between the real issues and the false ones in relation to possible Charter changes. He concludes that a review conference at this time could not possibly achieve anything worthwhile, but would actually endanger the United Nations. He insists that the international climate right now would not permit anything like a successful upward revision of the UN Charter.

Gradual Development

In all discussions of UN Charter review it should be kept in mind

that the Charter has developed considerably in the direction of becoming a stronger and more useful instrument by the gradual methods of reinterpretation and supplementary agreement. This fact is referred to in the Presbyterian pronouncements on the subject, which appear at the beginning of this article.

A case in point has been the dramatic shift of weight from the Security Council to the UN General Assembly. When the Security Council was paralyzed in its operation by successive Russian vetoes, certain prerogatives were quietly transferred from that body to the General Assembly. The famous "uniting for peace" resolution, adopted on November 3, 1950, put the veto-free General Assembly in a position to act in emergencies where the Security Council found itself veto-bound.

"Flexibility is the lifeblood that sustains and perpetuates constitutions," says Dr. Gross. "Concepts as to the nature of the foundations of peace and freedom change. This underlines the advisability of letting the United Nations Charter evolve little by little, case by case. The general principles will remain, as they should do in any constitutional system. The practice will change to suit new needs and meet new emergencies."

We believe a review conference at this time would serve no useful purpose, and could even do great harm to the cause of peace.

No Man Is an Island

By MARGARET E. KUHN, *Associate Secretary, Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education*

THROUGHOUT mankind's long history, group associations have been essential both to individual growth and to the development of society. To fulfill our human destiny and God's purposes, we were created as social beings, and we do not become persons or achieve our selfhood in isolation. Our associations and human relationships give life central purpose and wholeness. Groups are important also to help us to change, to accept new ways of thinking and doing, to make wise adjustments to the rapid social changes in our world. Through groups individuals also learn to solve their problems—their own, and their common problems—which are part of the unresolved issues in our troubled world.

Social scientists have shown us how to understand and utilize the natural social forces that are inevitably set in motion whenever two or more persons get together. In group organization we recognize both the individual person and the product of the social forces of which he is a part. We do not think of him or his problems apart from the social forces that play upon his life, for a

person is not simply a member of a group, nor simply an individual. By this recognition of the nature of man and of the society he helps to fashion we identify profound theological truths, also important elements of Presbyterian polity.

If groups are so important in the lives of people, here it is appropriate to ask: What of church groups and the quality and character of group life to be found in them? Our churches are Christian fellowships, we say. But many churchmen find deeper fellowship in a union, or trade association.

Christian education, we affirm, changes attitudes and conduct, and life itself. But knowledge of the Scriptures is not commitment to the will of God. Our well-intentioned methods of the past have led us to believe that people are changed only by exhortation. Yet there can be little hope of significant changes in attitude with these old methods.

We have beamed our Christian education largely to the individual, assuming that right attitudes inevitably follow conversion. So we have followed the practice of simply trying to convert more individuals. But

this has made discipleship a lonely business. Social psychologists have been telling us that it is often easier to change the attitudes and behavior of a group of people than it is to re-educate one individual.

Can our churches live up to their promise of fellowship and to their redemptive role in society? If we are to put into operation what we learn from our colleagues, the social scientists, it will require another reformation, perhaps a revolution, in many churches. Many of our ideas about church organization and worship may need to be rethought.

1. We must have new concepts of what leadership really is and how leaders are developed.

2. We need to revise our ideas about the size and characteristics of group life in the church.

3. We must develop new competence in more effective group approaches to the human mind and spirit, utilizing a variety of methods to improve group life of the church.

4. We need research tools and projects to discover where an individual gets his beliefs and ideas, what influences him in his thinking and actions, and to determine what experiences the church can provide to help its members to find meaningful associations with other people.

Who Are the Leaders?

Church practices often have encouraged dictators and autocrats. Benevolent despots have been canon-

ized by life membership on the session. Aggressive people who could manipulate, even bulldoze others into compliance, have been rewarded with long tenures and unchallenged domination of the Sunday church schools, administrative committees, and adult associations.

For years we have assumed that leadership consists of certain inbred, or carefully cultivated, characteristics that will enable their gifted possessors to dominate any and all situations. But by experience we know now that no one can be, or should be expected to be, a leader at all times and in every group, unless he is a genius or an absolute dictator. Nor must an individual always be a follower.

Leadership should be recognized in terms of the relationships a person has with other people, his influence upon other people, and his contributions to the solution of a problem.

No person comes into a group situation a blank. Each member brings to the group his experiences, background, inheritance, and training. All are potential leaders in that they have something to contribute in the process of facing problems and arriving at group decisions. It is axiomatic that as a group faces new problems, new leadership should emerge from the group.

But to release the problem-solving powers of group members, group leaders need to be able to stimulate participation and group interaction,

and to create the psychological climate in which all will feel free to respond. Leadership, therefore, is determined not only by the problem but by the spirit in which an individual relates himself to other people and is able to draw out their suggestions, opinions, feelings, and guide the group as a whole toward its goals and constructive solutions of its problems.

What Is a Group?

If the quality of group life is to be improved in the church, we need also to understand the powerful social forces that make groups out of aggregates of people—the factors that develop the “we” feeling. Dr. Eugene Jennings, of Michigan State University, who has been a valued consultant to our staff, believes that three conditions must be met in group organization.

1. There must be *physical proximity*. People must meet on common ground, at a time and place where it is convenient for them to be together.

2. There must be *social proximity*. This condition is met when people share a norm, a faith, and are conscious of the goals and desires they hold in common.

3. *Interactional proximity* is the third condition of group organization. This is the result of both physical and social proximity. In a group situation where people are free to participate, with mutual respect for each other's ideas and differences,

we lay the foundations for physical proximity which is satisfying, and for social proximity that will deepen and continue.

Interaction of group members will be stimulated if the discussion bears upon the dominant *needs* of the group members. Participation also increases as differences of opinion are perceived to exist. Church leaders have overemphasized group unity, and shied away from controversial issues because they have not used conflicting ideas and differences constructively. Yet if a group is too complete in its unity, it loses its dynamic, and there can be no real growth or change in the group members or in the group as a whole.

Participation is also greatly influenced by the size of the group. Extensive social research reveals that people will participate effectively only in small groups. For full participation five is a preferred size. A group of twenty members is considered large. Small groups benefit both the vocal, aggressive participants who tend to monopolize the discussion and the timid people who need to get used to the sound of their own voices.

Not One Method, but Many

Group leaders will realize that many approaches are needed to the human mind and spirit. Each has its place. None will substitute for the other, nor are the methods briefly

(Continued on page 22)

World Order Day—1954

A Call to the Churches

World Order Day has special significance this year because it falls on the birthday of the United Nations, October 24. This day will be observed not only in the United States but in many other nations around the world as United Nations Day.

The General Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. calls upon ministers and laymen of its constituent communions to observe World Order Day with prayer of thanksgiving for the United Nations and of penitence for our failure to dedicate ourselves fully to the task of working for peace, justice, and freedom in the world of nations. We urge our churches to study the achievements, failures, and limitations of the United Nations as an instrument of co-operation and peaceful change. We call upon our people to support United States participation in the United Nations and in other efforts through which we discharge our responsibility to the world community.

—*The General Board, National Council of Churches May 18, 1954*

Ecumenical Statements on the United Nations

The United Nations needs and deserves the discerning and active support of Christians. The valid purposes of the Charter can be served neither by utopian illusions nor by irresponsible defeatism, but only by the constructive support of all people of good will. The tremendous task of developing effective international machinery cannot be performed within a few years, but only by the patient and cumulative effort of generations. To aid in this task is a Christian duty. . . . We therefore call on Christians everywhere to study, pray, and work for a better fulfillment of the purposes of the United Nations Charter.

—*Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, August, 1953*

The United Nations was designed to assist in the settlement of difficulties and to promote friendly relations among nations. Its purposes in these respects deserve the support of Christians. But unless the nations surrender a greater measure of national sovereignty in the interest of the common good, they will be tempted to have recourse to war in order to enforce their claims.

—*First Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Amsterdam, 1948*

Statements on the United Nations, Prayers, and Program Suggestions

Let Us Pray

O God, who hast taught us to pray for the coming of thy Kingdom on this earth, give us grace to build our communities after the fashion of thy Kingdom, to set no boundaries about them which thou wouldst not set, to quiet the tumult and strife within them by brotherly love, and to work the more diligently for concord within them because our final hope is in the city which hath foundations whose builder and maker is God. Through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

—*Reinhold Niebuhr*

Almighty God, who hast created man in thine own image; Grant us grace fearlessly to contend against evil, and to make no peace with oppression; and, that we may reverently use our freedom, help us to employ it in the maintenance of justice among men and nations, to the glory of thy holy Name; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

—*The Book of Common Prayer*

You Can Do This

- Plan a forum in your church or community on or after UN Day to discuss a topic such as “Does the U.S. Need the UN?” or, “Has the UN Failed?” Have two speakers and a general discussion.
- When you hear or read unjustified attacks against the UN, UNESCO, U.S. economic assistance and technical aid, or against the policy of international co-operation in general, answer them carefully, fully, and patiently. Locate the sources of the attacks and expose them. Ask for space in your local newspaper and radio station to set the record straight.
- Make UN Day the occasion for starting a series of evening discussions on world affairs or some other educational effort. Use the interest of UN Day to initiate an action project in your church or community.
- Get acquainted with foreign students. If you live near a college or university, invite foreign students into your home.

NOTE: Instead of the usual World Order Day pronouncement to be read from the pulpit, the National Council of Churches has issued a program folder designed for use on World Order Day and throughout the year. The above statements, prayers, and program suggestions are taken from this folder. Church leaders will find the complete pamphlet, *World Order Day—1954*, most helpful for their observance of World Order Day, October 24, 1954, and for their fall and winter programs. It may be secured from the National Council of Churches, Department of P & D, 120 E. 23d Street, New York 10, N. Y. 5 cents; \$4.50 per hundred.

Education for Political Action

By BYRON G. ALLEN, *Democratic National Committeeman for Minnesota*; excerpts from an address at the *Institute of Practical Politics, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, March 8, 1954*

NO WONDER so few parents—seven out of ten according to a recent survey—want their children to take part in politics! No wonder only a very few of our ablest people enter the competitive political arena to make a career and but few take part in party affairs as an avocation or hobby! These are natural reactions in the light of the opinion of the trustees who founded the Minnesota Foundation for Political Education. They say that most campaigns are “emotional binges,” that the contests are too often popularity contests, and that real and important issues are obscured by the “name calling” and the techniques of the politicians and the press and the radio commentators, who leave the impression that the candidates are either “good” men or “bad” men. Actually, far too many are mediocre.

It is the belief of many that the situation could be corrected through a concerted effort on the part of interested citizens. In Minnesota, members of the Democratic-Farmer-

Labor Party,* as individuals, are sponsoring the Minnesota Foundation for Political Education, patterned on the “foundation” system of the British political parties. As far as we know, it is the first such effort in the United States to work toward financial stability and long-time planning for the needs of a major political party. It is a venture aimed at gaining the confidence and support of the general public.

The careful research of political scientists into the problems of the political campaigns first set forth in statistics and then filed away on the shelves of university libraries to gather dust does not shape public opinion. Such work leads only to Ph.D.’s. However, the work of these students could bear fruit. The efforts of scholars could be translated into political literature and turned into appeals to the public by the working politicians—if the scholars and the politicians could get together in their efforts.

The Citizenship Clearing House, affiliated with the Law Center of New York University, is doing much to accomplish this co-operation be-

* The official name of the Minnesota party. It is affiliated with the Democratic party nationally.

tween the political scientists and the working politicians. The field is wide open for similar work in all parts of the country.

Financial Needs

With each and every so-called scandal in government and politics, Congress or the state legislatures have responded with restrictive legislation designed to end some particular "heinous" practices of the politician and sometimes the practices of the businessman who might corrupt him. The "corrupt practices" acts, both state and Federal, the Hatch Act, certain parts of the Taft-Hartley Act, are examples.

"Check-off" contributions by those on the public payroll are frowned upon. Contributions by labor unions and corporations are prohibited. All such methods of financing political activity have caused the upset of parties and incumbents in times past.

In Britain, however, donations for political causes and candidates, within reasonable bounds, are encouraged by both the law and public opinion. There, the law treats the conscientious giving of money to political activity as having laudable status, such as giving for educational purposes.

Restrictive laws, together with the lack of permissive legislation, have made corruption inevitable in the United States.

With modern and expensive means of communication, such as

radio and television, billboards, and airplanes rushing the candidate from one end of a state to another, it is only reasonable to expect that from \$50,000 to \$200,000 should be spent on any important state-wide candidacy in several of our larger states. Yet our restrictive legislation, as contained in the corrupt practices acts, limits the expenditures of a candidate for the United States Senate to \$25,000 and to a similar amount for each committee organized on behalf of the candidate.

Realities require money which must be passed "under the table." The rank-and-file citizens, notoriously generous with the March of Dimes and the Red Cross, do not finance political causes, candidates, or parties. Few are donors who do not have "an ax to grind," a "special favor" to be had, or a personal ambition to realize.

Though our two-party system presupposes an opposition candidate, many minority party candidates in many states find it hopelessly impossible to get enough financial backing to make a respectable showing in the presentation of issues or personal qualifications. The result is that minority party leaders are frustrated by the search and recruitment of candidates because self-respecting and busy men and women of strong character want to make a creditable showing, even if they lose. The result, under the primary system, is that the mediocre, the unskilled and

untrained, or the "screwball" does file or "is filed" and too often is nominated—to the disgrace of the minority party. Occasionally, even the traditional majority party is also so afflicted.

A competitive career in politics is most insecure. Therefore, it is difficult to encourage skilled, trained, able, and conscientious people to leave their normal vocations to enter the political arena. All must feed and clothe themselves and their families and have a roof over their heads. It is almost equally difficult to show most people that there are pleasures of friendship and association to be had in such an avocation as being a participant in a party caucus, a poll watcher, a county chairman.

Sometimes moved by a realization of the importance of issues, the spirit of adventure, a willingness to take a chance, or righteous indignation with affairs that exist, well-to-do and able citizens have gone into campaigns as candidates, or supporters of candidates, and have spent their own money. Whether winner or loser, the sacrifice is more than should be expected.

A citizen can advertise his business or personal skills and qualifications, if in the pursuit of money, and deduct the expenditures so made as legitimate business expense for purposes of taxation. But that same citizen cannot expend his money to further a political career and tell his neighbors of his thoughts on the

needs of the community and expect any consideration from the taxpayer.

How can honorable and capable people be interested in making political activity or public service a career, or even political work an avocation, in the light of the great expense to be borne in such activity and the methods currently used to meet such expense?

Perhaps organized study should be made to effect even a few partial answers to this very pertinent question.

- Do we Americans want to abandon our system of government and turn that field over to some so-called elite group in our society?

- Do we want to leave matters as they are and let our political system drift as it pertains to political parties, candidates, and the presentation of issues?

- Or do we desire to understand our dilemma, study what other responsible and self-respecting democracies have done, make some innovations of our own, and carry out a sensible and practical reform movement in our American political party system?

A group of Minnesota Democrats (D.F.L.) have decided on the last suggestion, and the Minnesota Foundation for Political Education is the result. They work as citizens but not as official party members. To work toward this end as a party in America is almost criminal.

Achievements Thus Far

- The charter of the Minnesota Foundation for Political Education has been completed, and signed by the first group of trustees.

- The first full-scale sessions of the trustees have been held.

- The first report will be issued shortly and will show some interesting facts:

1. That there is widespread interest among all who have been approached with the plan.

2. That the first donors have been people of small and modest means and that their gifts have ranged from one dollar to not more than \$100.

3. That with the fund-raising activities of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party a plan or custom has been started whereby one per cent of the net proceeds from such events as the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner and the Congressional District dinners have been appropriated to the endowment funds of the Foundation. This will, one day, be raised to five per cent, it is hoped.

4. That we have made an award for the leading editorial of 1952, by a Minnesota writer presenting our party's cause in the campaign.

5. That we are making preparations to push our fund-raising campaign in 1954, and have many plans in the making to carry out the broad educational program of the Foundation to improve political ethics in this state to the end that campaigns

in Minnesota will be educational in value rather than merely "emotional binges."

Our political life needs the thought and concern and the activity and financing of more than incumbent officeholders, the politically ambitious, journalists, newspapermen, radio commentators, and the leaders of pressure groups. These are the ones who run the show now, but we need much more. We need the participation and faith of the rank and file.

It is our hope that we may have Foundation and party-sponsored lecture courses in Minnesota communities as well as political reading rooms such as political parties sponsor in Sweden; schools for candidates and, where needed, "fellowships" for young and older citizens too who need financial help to prepare for a campaign and a career in elective office. We plan too to provide political "internships" of a practical nature in the offices of United States Senators, Congressmen, governors, state legislators, and party officers, such as is now being attempted in New York State by the leaders of both major parties in cooperation with the universities and colleges of that state.

The Foundation hopes that other states may become interested in starting an experiment of a similar nature with a view to leading outstanding citizens into public service regardless of political affiliation.

NO MAN IS AN ISLAND

Continued from page 15

described below to be considered as tricks, or short cuts, useful in manipulating people in the direction which the leader wishes them to go. The effective Christian leader has mastered not only the philosophy of the group and the principles by which people learn and grow, but he understands the particular value and interrelation of each teaching method and group technique.

The development of a successful social education and action program in the church requires the balanced use of the following elements of program:

1. *Prophetic and socially relevant preaching.* There is no substitute for the direct application of Biblical truth to everyday human problems.

2. *Bible study in small groups.* The size of the group is crucial to participation. Many of our church school classes and weekday Bible study groups are too large and too controlled by the lecture method and autocratic leadership.

3. *Democratically planned study of social issues.* To help people understand contemporary social events and conflicts and to contribute to the development of sound public policies, churches need to provide information on controversial subjects and stimulate exchange of ideas and opinions. Sessions, ministers, and Christian education committees

should give high priority to midweek discussion groups that will give church members adequate information and a Christian interpretation of the most controversial issues in our society.

It is through group study and discussion that individual biases can best be corrected and individual judgments modified by the opinions of the group.

4. *Personal counseling.* People with personality problems and hostility toward other individuals or groups may not be able to establish satisfying group relationships without personal help. The feeling of identification with a counselor who understands their emotional reactions is an important supplement to group experience and helps to give insight into personal problems.

5. *Prayer.* Study and action on any social issue should be undertaken in prayer and recommitment to God's will and purpose. Fellowship with God implies communication with him and receptivity to the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

6. *Opportunity for group action.* People in our churches have not really made Christian teachings a part of their lives until they have put them into operation. Decision to change one's opinions and conduct can be most readily reached within a group.

It Works

In a center city church surrounded by urban blight and change, the minister and church officers have determined upon a bold and imaginative course of action. In small groups various church organizations have been studying the social changes taking place in the area. Midweek meetings have brought together church members, public officials, social workers, community planners to discover what is needed to minister to and reclaim the area. Groups from the neighborhood are warmly welcomed on Sunday mornings.

The minister of a church in an old industrial community points his sermons directly to the social tensions and pressures which people feel where they live and work. As each worshiper leaves the sanctuary he receives mimeographed suggestions for follow-up action during the week—ideas to read and think about, to discuss and pray about, action that the members may take in the various church groups and in the community. The “applied Christianity committee” meets monthly before Sunday morning worship, and most meetings are open to members of the congregation. Interactional proximity comes naturally!

In a suburban church where the congregation is rapidly growing, Sunday morning worship is followed by a fellowship hour where small groups of worshipers gather around

designated discussion leaders to discuss the sermon. Carefully worded questions to guide the discussion are prepared by the minister and an alert social education and action committee. Members of the congregation have learned a great deal about their faith, the Church, its doctrine. They are articulate about what they believe. They have “social proximity”!

What we do in church groups to give people firsthand contacts with the democratic process is most urgent in our ailing and apprehensive world. The methods by which people can come together to understand basic issues should be extended to community, state, and world affairs.

This month when we observe United Nations Week and emphasize the Christian's responsibility for peace and justice, these group principles are particularly relevant. The frustration and inadequacy which most people feel about sharing in the development of responsible foreign policy, or making the UN strong can be turned to stimulating and satisfying study and action. Participation in the smallest, least significant voluntary group may help many persons to be responsible Christian citizens and members of a fellowship—“no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God.”

A second article dealing with the importance of the group in Christian education and social action will appear later.

Sanctuary

MORAL AND SPIRITUAL FOUNDATIONS

Read Isaiah 32: 9-17; 57: 19-21; 62: 10-12; James 4: 4-10

When we pray for peace and world order these days we may be sharing in a widespread feeling of frustration and dismay. Peoples all over the world are praying for peace. God, who loves the world, wants us to work and pray for peace. He sent his Son as the Prince of Peace. Yet all of our prayers and efforts have brought so little tangible result! Why?

The words of James may help to set us straight. "Ye ask, and receive not, because ye ask amiss, that ye may consume it upon your lusts." "From whence come wars and fightings among you? come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?" Prayer for peace must be directed toward the correction of the moral and spiritual conditions that produce war.

A study of the prophecies of The Book of Isaiah should make this abundantly plain. There will be trouble and lamentation,

"Until the Spirit is poured upon us from on high. . . .

Then justice will dwell in the wilderness,
and righteousness abide in the fruitful field.

And the effect of righteousness will be peace,
and the result of righteousness, quietness and trust for ever."
(Isa. 32: 15-17, R.S.V.)

God's purpose is—

"Peace, peace, to the far and to the near, says the Lord;
and I will heal him.

But the wicked are like the tossing sea;
for it cannot rest,
and its waters toss up mire and dirt.

There is no peace, says my God, for the wicked."

(Isa. 57: 19, 20, R.S.V.)

Perhaps we have wanted peace and world order on too superficial a basis, before the real foundations are laid, and before the work that is peculiarly ours as the Church of God, the Zion of the New Covenant, is adequately done. We have expected too much of political instrumentalities. We have

shared too readily in promises of peace through material aid and economic amelioration. But who must lay the moral foundations of peace in the righteousness of earth's peoples?

Christians in places of important world and Church leadership have been coming, increasingly, to the same conclusion. Some years ago Hon. Francis B. Sayre, then head of the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, told a seminar of our Department of Social Education and Action that the United Nations was limited in what it could do for peace because of a lack of common moral standards among the nations represented. "This," he told the ministers in his audience, "is your responsibility." Later Mr. Sayre decided to share that responsibility by leaving the United Nations and going as a special missionary to Japan.

In *The Christian Hope and the Task of the Church*, the preparatory volume for the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches, this is said of the world crisis and Christian responsibility: "The issue for the Christian is a better, as over against a worse, world order. The protection of peace rests basically on trust and justice. . . . Christians must help those who work for the establishment of freedom and justice in the world, for this is God's will and command."

When President Eisenhower told the World Christian Endeavor Convention, July 25, that "it is only governments that are stupid," and that the masses in all nations long for peace, he was half right, and the appeal to the world's peoples to demand real peace of their leaders in the statement was statesmanlike. But it is also true that the peoples get the kind of government they deserve. Decent government must be demanded by people willing to suffer for righteousness because their faith in the God of righteousness makes them socially responsible citizens. The Church of Christ has still its major missionary task, both at home and in all nations. Our witness is to call men and nations to the righteousness of God. And the effectiveness of our witness often depends upon how effective we Christians are in bringing about justice in the nations where we already have major influence. Again we find the word in Isaiah:

"Lift up a standard for the people." (Ch. 62: 10.)

Let us pray: O Lord, God of righteousness and peace, help us so to pray and labor for justice and righteousness and the converting of men's hearts that thy Spirit may be poured upon the world's peoples, that the effect of righteousness may be peace. In Christ's name. Amen.

—Prepared by Edward W. Stimson, Minister, Dundee Presbyterian Church, Omaha, Nebr.; former member, SEA Counseling Committee

Christian ACTION

WHAT IS THE ACTUAL COST OF THE UN?

"It costs too much" is the criticism of the UN most frequently heard.

What is the actual cost? How is it calculated? The Secretary-General reports a budget for 1954 of \$41,067,110 covering operating expenses, wages of employees, maintenance of buildings in New York and Geneva, amortization of debt for headquarters building, support of the International Court of Justice, Technical Assistance, and programs not including the specialized agencies. Of this the U. S. pays one third or \$13,765,290, 8½ cents per capita.

A recent law requiring a withholding tax of all staff members reduces the amount by \$1,800,000, or a U. S. contribution of \$11,965,290, 7½ cents. The budget for the ten specialized agencies, such as FAO, WHO, UNESCO, etc., represents another insignificant addition.

Are the efforts to establish ways of peace and continued co-operation for the betterment of peoples not worth even these few cents per capita? Who has a better or cheaper alternative?

—*Mabel Head, UN observer*

DO YOU KNOW THE ANSWERS?

- What inspired Calvin's attempt to establish a theocracy in Geneva?
- What are the hierarchical, democratic, episcopal, and representative forms of Church government?
- What is a social pronouncement and how does it affect you?
- What does any church want of me?

Do you know the answers? If you don't, it is probably only because you have not had an opportunity to find out.

The Presbyterian Church of Wausau, Wisconsin, of which Rev. Ray H. Kiely is pastor, made this

possible for their people by presenting a course of instruction called "A School for Inquirers."

Four discussion groups were planned to provide a better understanding of Christian life. The leaders hoped this could be obtained

by a presentation of fact as it is recorded in Church history and from the exchange of ideas of those who participated.

The discussion topics chosen were:

- "The Church's Conscience in Social Concern"
- "The Church Speaks Out"
- "The Church Through the Ages"

If you agree with Mr. Kiely that a person does not stop improving his mind at any age, perhaps a course of study similar to this would be welcomed in your church. Suggestions for background material are available on request to the Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

CHURCH PANEL ON THE UN

An interesting program on understanding the United Nations grew out of my attendance at the Cleveland Conference and my train conversation with Dr. Justin Nixon, a delegate to the conference. He became interested in my plan to hold a series of meetings at Brighton Church in the fall based on the international findings of the Cleveland Conference. When I suggested that possibly his new booklet, *The United Nations and Our Religious Heritage*, could be the basic study guide, he agreed to come to the final meeting.

A meeting of our local church SEA committee was called, and they accepted this program as something worth-while for the church and a made-to-order project to put new life and vitality into the committee work.

Plans quickly took shape with mounting enthusiasm; several members of the committee were briefed and asked to prepare themselves on designated chapters of Dr. Nixon's booklet. Armed with literature and

related facts, these five individuals became a panel or deputation team and presented the topic to several groups, including the women's organizations, our married couples groups, the young people, an open meeting at the church, and then enjoyed the fellowship and inspiration of the concluding dinner meeting in the series when Dr. Nixon came for his address.

Looking back, we feel we have made at least these gains:

- Our SEA committee took on a new lease of life.

- Many church members read UN literature, increased their understanding of the organization, and at least three individuals visited the UN headquarters in New York City as a direct result of these meetings.

- Plans now call for our SEA committee to set up a new panel this fall on Evanston.

—George E. Ulp, Minister, Brighton Presbyterian Church, Rochester, N. Y.

★ *Citizenship* ★

ELECTION TIME APPROACHES

☒ SOMEONE has aptly commented, "Bad officials are elected by good citizens who do not vote." The Congressional elections this fall, wherein all 435 members of the House of Representatives and 38 Senators will be up for election, are among the most important to be held in years.

This importance is emphasized by the critical world situation and the very vital and far-reaching decisions that the 84th Congress will be called upon to make. Because of America's position of world leadership it is imperative that our Congressional membership be men and women who wholeheartedly and actively recognize this fact and exhibit intelligence and responsibility in their opinions and actions.

Traditionally, at least in theory, our political system was built on the idea that "the job should seek the man." Too often in recent years this process has been reversed and we have seen all types of men and women seeking the power and influence of public office. Because of the apathy and inaction of responsible citizens, some of these individuals have been successful in their bids for office, and the body politic has suffered as a consequence.

Men and women seeking the sup-

port of their fellow citizens in this fateful year should be subjected to the closest scrutiny relative to their character, reputation, and record. Only by such vigilance can we be assured of programs and policies geared to the welfare and best interests of the nation and the world. Our role of world leadership is very definitely affected by our actions and policies on the home front, which some of us are prone to forget sometimes.

From the standpoint of politics, there is much conjecture as to whether the President will have a Republican Congress when the session convenes next January. Since the 1952 election is generally conceded to have been an Eisenhower victory rather than a party victory, and since the present majority in each House is extremely slim, it would seem to call for an "off-year miracle" to insure full Republican control in the 84th Congress. Off-year elections practically always result in the loss of some seats by the party in power, particularly in the House. At this writing, it seems quite likely that the House may go Democratic in the November elections, but the situation with respect to the Senate is much less clear.

Of the 38 Senate seats up for elec-

tion, 15 are now held by Republicans and 23 by Democrats. Of these 23 Democratic seats, 14 are from Southern or border states, which practically insures their safety for the Democrats. Of the 15 Republican seats, 7 are considered from solidly Republican territory. This leaves 17 states as pivotal areas where the results in one or two of them might spell success or failure in the battle for control of the Senate.

Not to be underestimated in the fall campaign is the influence of President Eisenhower. Whether his personal popularity can be translated into support for individual candidates who endorse his program remains to be seen. Congressional contests in general are decided largely on local issues, particularly in off-year elections. However, in view of the way the President secured passage of much of his program in the later days of the last Congress, his leadership in the fall elections must be reckoned with.

The importance of the membership and leadership of the new 84th Congress cannot be overemphasized with respect to our international relations and obligations.

The present chairmen of the Senate and House committees, together with the President, the Secretary of State, and other Congressional leaders, strongly supported the United Nations and the work of its affiliated organizations in the session of Congress just closed. The appropriations

committees and the membership of both Houses as a whole, however, did not go along on this support, and our contributions and expenditures in this work were cut below what the Administration had requested.

Our reciprocal trade relations program will come up again for decisions and legislation. The 83d Congress reluctantly extended this program for one year, though the President had requested a three-year extension together with certain supporting measures which would have led to the improvement and expansion of foreign trade. Most of these latter requests were denied.

The so-called Bricker Amendment will again be introduced, according to Senator Bricker, and may precipitate a hot floor fight. The position on this issue taken by Senators to be elected this fall may determine the outcome. The Administration won in the last session by only one vote, a two-thirds vote being necessary on a constitutional matter.

There is also much talk that universal military training, perhaps in a somewhat disguised form, will again be introduced and pushed.

In recognition of the special responsibility for citizenship which we as Christians have, it is to be hoped that we will work strenuously for an informed and intelligent electorate which will actively express its opinion at the polls in November.

—Helen Lineweaver,
Washington Office

About Books

Freedom, Loyalty, Dissent, by Henry Steele Commager. Oxford University Press. 155 pp. \$2.50.

As a spokesman for the American brand of freedom, Henry Steele Commager is a champion unexcelled. He is no mere propagandist for "freedom, loyalty, and dissent," since he discusses ideas and ideals with judicial objectivity. He sees freedom not only as a legal and natural right but as a necessity for survival. "We do not encourage dissent for sentimental reasons," observes Dr. Commager. "We encourage dissent because we cannot live without it."

This small collection of five articles and speeches is designed to remind us Americans that "freedom is not a luxury that we can indulge in when at last we have security and prosperity and enlightenment; it is rather antecedent to all of these, for without it we can have neither security nor prosperity nor enlightenment."

Dr. Commager emphasizes over and over the pragmatic nature of our freedom, that we can weaken or destroy freedom by talk about it instead of action for it. America has been made great by the pragmatists

who not only argued for freedom but fought for it.

Other vigorous and challenging chapters in this very readable little book are entitled "Free Enterprise in Ideas," "Guilt by Association," and "Who Is Loyal to America?"

Dr. Commager by vivid illustration shows that to judge a man's guilt by the organizations he has joined is a *reductio ad absurdum*. History abounds in fantastic attempts to prove that guilt attaches itself, not to illegal acts, but to "dangerous thoughts or suspicious associations"—Jesus eating with publicans and sinners, President Eisenhower associating with Soviet Russia in World War II, the innumerable lists being compiled by nearly everybody from the Attorney General of the United States down to one's next-door neighbor.

"We should be careful what we join, we are told," comments Dr. Commager, "but how do we go about being careful? Do we start with our church, our labor union, our fraternal society, our veterans organization, our professional group?" When we strike at the principle of voluntary association we are endangering the working machinery of democracy.

In a final chapter, "Who Is Loyal to America?" Dr. Commager speaks out vigorously against the inquisitorial nature of much of our loyalty testing, especially as it affects teachers. He devotes several pages to the case of a Russian-born girl who spoke in one of the Washington, D. C., high schools in 1947 and tried to present to American youth a superficial comparison between American and Russian social institutions. The repercussions from this talk which was in no sense disparaging to America shook the educational foundations of the capital of the United States, driving its educational leaders into craven apology. One finds it hard to read such accounts without a feeling of shame that America seems to be pushing our youth toward a new and narrow concept that loyalty means conformity.

—Burton P. Fowler

Christianity, Communism and History, by William Hordern. Abingdon Press. 174 pp. \$2.50.

William Hordern, assistant professor of philosophy and religion at Swarthmore College, has provided a thoughtful analysis of the likenesses and differences between Christianity and Communism. Taking as his point of departure the doctrine of history held by the two ideologies, Hordern finds rather striking parallels between them.

Of fundamental importance is the

author's search through the writings of the sectarians of the Reformation period. They were, he declares, inheritors of the prophetic tradition. As such, they functioned to stab the conscience of the Church, which then and now has a habit of getting complacent. The contribution of a neo-heterodoxy is needed today, Hordern declares.

Communism, to quote John Bennett, is a "compound of half-truth and positive error." The danger of Communism lies in the fact that positive error can make use of the half-truth to win followers and to influence world affairs.

Christianity, according to our author, has in it the truth which appears in Communism, but the truth is not there mixed with error.

The half-truth in Communism is visionary and at places seems quite akin to the vision of the Kingdom of God upon earth. The tragedy of Communism is its militant atheism, its materialistic scheme of values, its class hatred, and its resort to violent revolution. These make it a threat to freedom and the spiritual values of man.

We need to understand Communism, its appeal, its vitality. Particularly must we understand it if we are to oppose it with any degree of success. Hordern's book is an excellent study of this important factor in the world of ideas and therefore worthwhile reading.

—Paul C. McFarlin

Our Secret Allies, by Eugene Lyons. Little, Brown & Co. 376 pp. \$4.50.

The people of Russia—in contradistinction to the rulers of Russia—are our most potential allies in the global struggle to rid the world of police state governments. This is the whole point of the book. Eugene Lyons finds support for his belief in the potential for sympathetic help from the Russian people in every phase of Russian history, but his most vivid evidence comes out of his own experience as a United Press correspondent in Russia from 1928-1934.

The first body of evidence is organized from the events surrounding the death of Stalin and the maneuver of control into the hands of other men. "The belief that the peoples of Russia bent their necks meekly to the yoke of Bolshevism is historically false," he writes. There has been a constant struggle between the dictators of Russia and the Russian people.

The distinction between the ideals of Russian patriotism and the objectives of Communist world revolution are significantly clarified. The Russian people are considered expendable by the leaders of the Communist world revolution.

The author's positive suggestions are welcome lights in our darkness of fear and hate. Must we have another global war? "No," says Mr. Lyons, "if we win the cold war."

But we must *win* that cold war, and it can best be done in open and clearly stated alliance with the citizens of Russia against their dictators.

Several observations grow out of a study of this book. First, philosophical and religious beliefs eventually manifest themselves in political and economic systems. Start with materialism and you end up with totalitarian police states where the individual and the community is only a means to the end of those who happen to be in power. Start with the Christian faith and you end with a society that has to maintain a balance between individual human rights and community welfare, all measured by standards derived from God rather than men.

—Archie R. Crouch

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NOVEMBER—SPECIAL YOUTH ISSUE

Social Progress readers will recall that this is the second time an entire issue is to be devoted to materials prepared by the youth of the Church. (The first such issue appeared in November, 1953.) A preview indicates that the November issue will include a symposium on freedom and civil liberties, an article on foreign policy, one on the comic book situation, another on the theological bases of social action, and several other interesting features.

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